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ABSTRACT

A study is described that will investigate whether cultural referents found in the Defense Language Institute (DLI) American Language Course are biased toward North American cultural norms, and whether Saudi Arabian military personnel in language training using those materials are affected by the cultural information contained within them. The present report provides background information on the problem to be studied, the link between language and culture, theoretical underpinnings of the study, the DLI materials under consideration, and characteristics of the Arab learner. Excerpts from the DLI materials are appended. Contains 20 references. (MSE)



Cultural Load in L₂ texts

by Raymond W. Brooks Doctoral Candidate Florida State University Tallahassee, FL

Presented at the 31st Annual Convention and Exposition of the Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

14 March 1997

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TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

Cultural Load in L₂ texts

by Raymond W. Brooks

ABSTRACT

In Saudi Arabia students at the Royal Saudi Naval Forces English Language School were primarily interested in learning English as a tool for their personal or professional development, but resented and rejected the cultural values laden in the instructional materials. For these clients English was being learned in order to communicate with speakers of other non-English languages through a common medium.

Curricula are cultural artifacts in that they are developed within a culture and contain cultural assumptions and biases, either examined or unexamined. Bias occurs because curricula are artifacts of the people who create them. An avowed purpose of second language learning is that the materials should impart not only specific abstract knowledge, but also provide for an introduction to the target society's values. Textbook and syllabus designers may be unaware of the desire of many nonnative learners of English today for more culture-fair teaching paradigms.

This paper is preliminary to a study investigating whether cultural referents found in the Defense Language Institute American Language Course represent a bias in favor of American cultural norms and whether the opinions of Saudi military personnel undergoing language training using the DLI/ALC toward the instructional materials and the American lifestyle are affected by the cultural information in those materials.

Working within a sociocultural framework, this study will consider the prevailing view in academia toward the inseparability of culture and language which is reflected in textbook and syllabus design. It will review the background of the DLI/ALC as well as the growth of English as an International Language as a pedagogical framework providing a communications tool to be used by people of all cultural and language backgrounds for the exchange of information without cultural overtones. Finally, it will examine the difficulties perceived by the Arab student being introduced to Western language and culture in that methodologies that show promise and results in the cultural milieu in which they are nurtured may be completely or partly ineffective in a foreign milieu.



Introduction

It has been a given tenet of the second language acquisition field, that the teaching of language is inextricably linked with the teaching of the culture of the native speakers of that language. The experiences of this author in Saudi Arabia forced the realization that the majority of the students were interested in learning English as a tool for their personal or professional development and were not only uninterested in the cultural aspects of American English, but resented and rejected the values laden in the instructional materials. This should not be remarkable; Ellis (1985) noted that: "In general, adult learners dislike having a coursebook imposed upon them in a rigid way." (p. 103). For these clients, and by extension many other clients of language training programs, English was being learned in order to communicate with speakers of other non-English languages through a common medium. The reason for this is that English has come into wide-spread use as a lingua franca, greatly reducing the need for learning the myriad other languages encountered in international communications, although credit must be given to both British colonial imperialism and American economic and technological dominance in sowing the seeds of English language knowledge throughout the world.

Statement of the Problem

There are differences in the second language classroom and in the foreign language classroom in the ways in which language is taught most effectively. Concomitant with the overt goal of language learning, acculturation of the student to the target language culture is inherent in the second language curriculum. In contrast, acculturation in the foreign language classroom is an unlikely result to expect and it might, therefore, be more reasonable to limit the cultural context of a language lesson to a less intrusive role. Curricula are cultural artifacts in that they are developed within a culture and contain cultural assumptions and biases, either examined or unexamined. Bias occurs because curricula are artifacts of the people who create them. An avowed purpose of second language learning is that the materials should impart not only specific abstract knowledge, but also provide for an introduction to the target society's values. Controversy is evident regarding this role of language training as a cultural conduit. Swiderski (1993) speaks about the difficulty inherent in attempting simultaneously to learn a language and the culture of its speakers. The case could be made stronger where a monopoly in methodology exists.

The Language-Culture Link

There is an unspoken subtext that runs throughout the literature which presupposes the belief that the progression of development in second language acquisition paradigms and pedagogies which we cite in our research is good and natural and normal. That is not to say that



new ideas are immediately and universally accepted without challenge from the academic community. Challenge is also good and natural and normal, and the successful defense of a challenge to prevailing paradigms is the method by which new concepts become accepted precepts.

However, there is a partisanship in academia toward the inseparability of culture and language which is reflected in textbook and syllabus design. Created with the specific characteristics of the traditional ESL and EFL environments in mind, the finished products often indicate that the designer is unaware of the desire of many non-native learners of English today for more culture-fair teaching paradigms. Advocacy of culture-fair approaches is often countered by the assertion that failure to incorporate culture into the lesson is only acceptable in the area of English for Special Purposes, a realm often rather-contemptuously dismissed in academia.

Significance of the Study

This study is in the initial stages of investigating whether cultural referents found in the Defense Language Institute American Language Course represent a bias in favor of American cultural norms which negatively affect the attitude of Saudi Arabian naval personnel in English as a Foreign Language classrooms toward American English language learning task acceptance and thereby negatively affects the learning process and the concomitant acquisition of the target language.

The questions to be addressed are:

- How do the beliefs and values of the target population (Saudi EFL students) affect their perception of the beliefs and values they are being familiarized with in the DLI/ALC materials?
- How do the beliefs and values of these students affect the manner in which they react to those materials, internally and externally?

Theoretical Framework

Kramsch (1994) addresses the quandary facing educators and researchers today in determining the metaphors which form the basis for establishing a framework in which to examine a particular phenomenon. "Language teachers have to act as mediators between the researchers, the politicians and the language learners." (p.9). In the foreign language arena, balancing the demands for empowerment of a language community with the often alien products of a curriculum rooted in a foreign pedagogical consciousness is the daily dilemma of the L₂ teacher. In the often headlong rush to embrace and validate the paradigm du jour, innovative methodologies gain and lose favor in the academic community, yet one element that remains powerful is that of the cultural component.

The study being conceived is founded in the sociocultural framework. The concept of metacognition as the personal ongoing monitoring of language production and acquisition, and



Vygotsky's theories regarding the social development of language between children and adults (other-regulation leading to self-regulation) may well be extended to explain the crucial function of social interaction and learned, self-guided behaviors in second language development and the expansion of communicative competence in adults. It is this very social interaction and value imbuement that helps to explain the difficulties I encountered with the cultural aspects of the materials I used while teaching English to young, Muslim, Saudi men.

Lantolf and Appel (1994) state that metacognition incorporates planning, logical, memory, problem solving, evaluation, and voluntary action (p.6). Included in the higher order functions are voluntary inhibitory and disinhibitory faculties, which are transformed and developed through sociocultural factors. They go on to note that "critical to Vygotsky's theories is that the process of voluntary acting is distributed between two people, one of whom (the adult or expert already knows how to perform a particular act and one who (the child or novice, does not." (p.10), and "an adult is not an autonomous, finalized knower, but an organism that recovers and utilizes earlier knowing strategies in situations that cannot be dealt with by self-regulation alone" (p. 15). Thus, "according to the Vygotskian view of mental growth, in difficult knowing situations the adult reverts to child-like knowing strategies to control the situation and gain self-regulation." (p. 16). It would seem the case that in the foreign language classroom, the adult student voluntarily submits to the expert/novice paradigm.

Clearly in support of the concept of valuing equally the cultural starting point of potential students is Vygotsky's theory of social interaction, that language learning cannot be examined without giving a dominant role to the teacher-student (parent-child, expert-novice) relationship.

In the first chapter of Thought and Language (1962), Vygotsky writes: "the primary function of speech is communication, social intercourse...The individual's experience resides only in his own consciousness...(it is) not communicable...true human communication presupposes a generalizing attitude...(H)igher forms of human intercourse...(are made) possible...because...thought reflects conceptualized actuality" (pp.6-7) The 'conceptualized actuality' in the Defense Language Institute American Language Course and the prevailing theoretical emphasis on the inseparability of language and culture work against maximizing the effectiveness of second teaching and learning in the Saudi context because the cultural load built into a given lesson presents to the students an actuality which is alien and often incomprehensible to their own. This is especially true when an adversarial relationship preexists between the value system of the student's culture and that of the target culture. Thus reducing the cultural content load in L₂ materials should serve to facilitate L₂ acquisition through the presentation of a more culture-fair referential framework.

This less socioculturally targeted framework would then introduce a less alien student/target culture interrelational actuality against which a message (the lesson) would be interpreted. By reducing possible areas of confusion or contention generated by concepts that may not be a part of the students' "conceptualized actuality," it is posited that information is more readily transmitted and acquisition thereby facilitated. Incremental gains in the level of language sophistication which develop through increased acquisition would allow for the development of the interrelational actuality to a higher level of conceptualization. This ever-expanding actuality is only then capable of assigning target-culture-appropriate meanings to culturally- or



situationally-encoded verbal or visual communication.

The classroom environment works best when the students are motivated to learn, while simultaneously gaining an understanding of the practicality of what they are learning. Students should be relaxed and comfortable about what it is they are doing in the classroom, and the teacher must strive to break down the barriers of embarrassment and the fear of failure, so that the students focus on their progress rather than their mistakes.

DLI/ALC

Military training programs are an important segment of defense budgeting and have farreaching effects on the relationships between nations. In Saudi Arabia personnel of the Royal Saudi Naval Forces schools use the Defense Language Institute American Language Course, an ESL language program designed for use in teaching foreign military personnel on assignment in the United States. Due to close relations between the United States and military client organizations in other countries around the world, the ALC program is exported worldwide, where it is used for English teaching in the EFL environment.

The Defense Language Institute American Language Course was developed as the English language curriculum to be taught to foreign military personnel who are assigned to language training in the United States as part of their military mission. Although the course syllabus now claims allegiance to the assumptions of the communicative approach, in the early stages of its development the program was heavily influenced by the audio-lingual method in vogue at that time. Although conceived as a second-language program, it has been exported to no less than 40 client states as the basis for military English-as-a-foreign-language programs. Used in that context, the inelegantly 'typical' American scenarios may exacerbate rather than enhance the learning environment.

The decision to implement a language program in an foreign language setting should take the beliefs and attitudes of the student population in consideration prior to its design. This is a pedagogical consideration rather than one of acquisition theory. Such programs would be more readily accepted by the target audience and, as a consequence, be more effective as a result of more willing student involvement. For example, in actual training situations in Saudi Arabia, certain selections were observed to provoke disturbances in the classroom which derailed the course of instruction until the offending items could be examined and the cause of the interruption neutralized. Thus the aspect of language as behavior enacted in a social context is illustrated (Halliday, 1978).

[Show overhead examples (Appendices) here]

English as an International Language

There is always the danger of losing sight of the forest for the trees when, in the quest to identify ever more definable paradigms to explain just how languages are acquired, the disciples



and followers of the new teachings tend to close ranks, subsume the earlier theories, and claim the torch of cutting edge knowledge as their own. Where does that leave the innate soul in an interactive language community, who develops both intellect and language not without a reasonable amount of behavioral modification? These theoretical conflicts alone are divisive enough without even considering a larger issue: all of the leading lights in the language acquisition theory arena are products of Western cultural milieus and, inescapably, of their concomitant assumptions and expectations. Vygotsky and other researchers and social philosophers from Russia and the Soviet Union are included in this milieu in recognition of the influences of Marx and Engels on their contributions to the field.

A concept too seldom examined in the United States, despite nearly two decades in the academic lexicon, is that propounded by Braj Kachru and others that English should be taught as an international language (EIL), i.e., a means by which knowledge and communication are shared between disparate groups of non-native speakers of English, not as a medium through which the cultural values of the United States and/or Britain are disseminated throughout the world. Kachru (1982) discusses the two types of motivation for second language learning: integrative and instrumental. If the learner's motivation is integrative, then the desire is "to identify with the members of the other linguistic cultural group On the other hand, the instrumental approach has been defined as basically "utilitarian"; a language is acquired as a linguistic tool, not as an instrument for cultural integration" (p. 38).

This worldwide trend supports the concept of viewing EFL teaching not as a method of introducing students to the target culture as a way of imitating a native language-culture connection (traditional EFL classroom methodology), nor as a means of assimilating non-native English speakers into an English speaking environment (traditional English as a Second Language [ESL] methodology), but rather to provide a communications tool to be used by people of all cultural and language backgrounds for the exchange of information without cultural overtones. "In a teaching situation (James Baxter [in Bickley, 1982]) believes that whereas in EFL and ESL specific varieties of English and specific cultures can be dealt with, the goal in the teaching of English as an International Language cannot be knowledge of the details of a given variety of culture, or even numbers of these" (p. 86). Deniere (1992) states: "The current emphasis on a narrow interpretation of communicative language teaching and on the process syllabus derived from American based humanistic approaches developed in the sixties and seventies...leads to the development of ethnocentric methodologies that are often incompatible with other cultures' teaching and learning styles..." (p. 13).

The Arab Learner

It is often difficult for the Westerner to empathize with the difficulties perceived by the Arab being introduced to Western language and culture. Overcoming the hurdles presented by a different alphabet and direction of reading written texts has been well researched. However, these difficulties may be most glaring when the Arab learner begins coping with the American experience. The cultural norms of the United States are arguably more alien to his value system



than those of the European nations, with which he has generally had more contact.

The vigor with which American educators champion and seek to legitimize multicultural diversity and equality between the sexes, races and religions represented in the United States is unequaled anywhere else in the world. While language teachers in the West, according to Seelye (1987) often see teaching "cultural understanding as a way of changing students' attitudes" (p. 57) toward the target culture, such a goal may be neither desirable nor practical when the focus is on the Arab learner.

Unlike most languages, Arabic is eternally intertwined with the world of Islam. In the American educational milieu, religious phrases may "seem to be an unlawful intrusion of religion into language learning", as Swiderski (1993) noted (p. 109). In Islamic countries the Qur'an is in the back of the reader's mind when dealing with all texts. Hence, what is written is necessarily associated with absolute truth. Studies by Farquharson (1988) and Osterloh (1987) indicate that the Arab learner tends not to question what is written in texts and often does not distinguish between important and unimportant information because he holds written materials in very high regard, unconsciously regarding them with the sanctity he affords the Qur'an. The differences between the relative authority afforded the texts in the minds of the Arab student and the Western student should not be dismissed lightly. Osterloh (1987) claims that "(b)ecause of his cultural experience, the reader regards the text as a fixed unit in which everything is of equal importance" (p. 78). Where the avowed purpose of the DLI/ALC program is the attainment of language competence, imbedded values which are alien to the learners' norms can cause a sense of subservience to Western dominance (Alptekin, 1982) which actually inhibits acquisition.

Seelye (1987) notes that "(o)ur culture teaches us what to see and what to ignore" (p. 99). In contrast, the educational systems of the Middle East tend to emphasize an "imitative rather than a creative approach" to learning (Parker, 1987, p. 96). This tendency toward imitation can inhibit the development of critical thinking and discernment skills (Farquharson, 1988).

The potential conflicts between the underlying, unstated norms around which materials and methods are developed should be addressed as they are developed, not presented to the classroom teacher as a brightly colored can of worms. If the material itself raises controversial issues, the learning process will be halted before it is properly begun. In the West there is a regrettably myopic tendency simply to assume the soundness of our cultural and theoretical frameworks, and we export them often without due consideration of the philosophical underpinnings of educational beliefs in cultures different from our own. What thought is given to those other beliefs is tempered by our certainty that we have the current, best explanation for the acquisition of language, and reasoned explanation and research will demonstrate that to our colleagues worldwide. This position does not address a weakness in that methodologies that show promise and results in the cultural milieu in which they are nurtured may be completely or partly ineffective in a foreign milieu. Foreign language teaching and learning environments are not second language environments, even in the uncommon happenstance that the principals involved share a vision of how this difficult task is to be accomplished.

The solution seems to be a greater sensitivity to the norms and values of the learner and to de-emphasize the American tendency for self-promotion. While there will always be the opposing voice claiming that culturally neutral materials will be less effective because they are



lack authenticity, that would likely not be a common opinion held among teachers with experience in the Arab world. Pride in their culture is the cornerstone of the Arab self-concept. Successful teachers recognize this and work with, not against, such a basic concept. Parker (1987) cautions that the Arab student first "needs respect - for himself and his people, for his country and its customs, for his religion" (pp. 98-9).

Imhoof (1968) wrote that classroom materials "must rely on illustrations, examples, and vocabulary understood in the reader's real experience" (p. 41). Twenty-five years later Bernhardt (1993) reiterates that "texts are social and cultural artifacts reflecting group values and norms" (p. 13), and that "(they) should consist of authentic materials of interest to learners" (p. 227). The purpose of such an orientation is not one of misguided political correctness. Language training serves an eminently practical and commercial purpose in the real world, as well as an academic one. If, to paraphrase President Coolidge, the business of language training is business, then hidden cultural agendas should not be allowed to obstruct that purpose. Curriculum designers and teachers should take heed of Hashemi's (1992) warning: "English instruction which has not been acculturated and shaped to fit the country's needs constitutes a threat to national identity...(and)...will be met with reluctance, if not resistance" (pp. 6-7).



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APPENDIX

The following illustrations were taken from the Defense Language Institute American Language Course textbooks. These were not chosen for any ideological purpose, rather because during the four years the author taught at the Royal Saudi Naval Forces English Language School there were instances where negative comment was aroused from the students when these particular illustrations were encountered in the text.

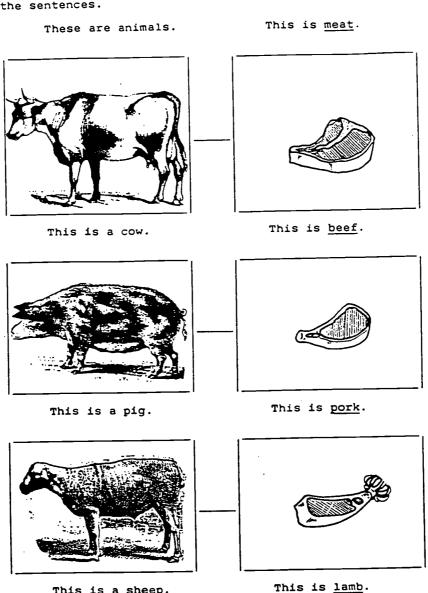


Appendix One: Meat.

As would be expected in any language text, the foods eaten are displayed. However, pork products, while common in the United States, are prohibited to all Muslims. The incidence of appearance of pork in the text is of a very high frequency. It would lend one to believe that pork is commonly eaten by Americans on a daily basis. No mention is made of those Americans who, for whatever reason, do not eat pork. In view of the strong feelings Saudi Muslims have regarding pork, is it essential to their language learning experience to be exposed to it with such frequency?

MEAT

Read the sentences.



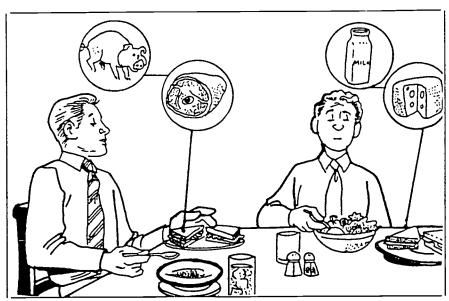


This is a sheep.

Appendix Two: Pork.

Another of the many examples of how pork is illustrated in the text.

√ Vocabulary.



LUNCH

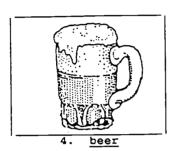
Dick and Harry are eating lunch. Dick is having a salad and a Cheese sandwich. Harry is having a bowl of soup and a harry is having a qlass of tea.

They will have <u>dessert</u> in a few minutes. The menu for dessert is on the next page. What will Dick have for dessert? What will Harry have?



Appendix Three: Alcohol.

In Islam the stricture against the consumption of alcohol is stronger than that against pork. There has also been much effort made to discourage alcohol consumption in American society in general, and in the military in particular. In these texts characters suggest having drinks after work and even allude to drinking and driving. Without moralizing, it begs the question: is such a prominent display of alcohol necessary in a basic language text?





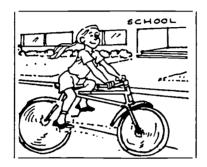


16. beer, wine
 Beer and wine are
 popular drinks.



Appendix Four: Body taboos, social roles and dress.

In Saudi Arabia women are strictly prohibited from appearing in public without being completely covered. Women and girls may not appear in public in shorts and men are strongly discouraged. There is no public socialization nor are there sporting activities in mixed gender environments. There are no nightclubs or theaters, and in restaurants single men sit in a section separate from the families and single women. Women are prohibited by law and tradition from driving. None of the events in these illustrations could occur. Indeed, the illustration from Book 12 only serves to reinforce the belief that women can not and should not be permitted to drive.



3. Jane <u>rides</u> her <u>bicycle</u> to school every day.

воок 9



The new students are playing volleyball. BOOK 8



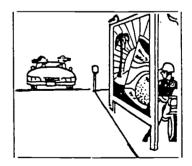
6. taxi driver company

Myra is a taxi driver.
She's also a <u>businesswoman</u>.
She and her husband Hal own a taxi company together.



dance
 Mike and Molly like to
 dance.

BOOK 15



Grace should slow down. The policeman will give her a ticket.

BOOK 12



ı.

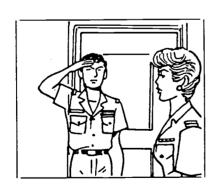
Appendix Five: Sex roles in the military.

Women may not serve in any capacity in the armed forces of Saudi Arabia. In the ALC materials the depictions of women in the service reflect a positive effort to show women in leadership roles. Therefore, the majority of illustrations show women in command roles not in subordinate ones. Men are depicted saluting women, but not vice versa. Most of the students at the RSNF ELS do not go to the United States for advanced training, but of those who expect to, many have said to the author that they would cross the street to avoid saluting a woman. Is the purpose of the ALC to effect social change or to teach basic English?



Lt Pearce is a pilot.
 She can fly airplanes well.

BOOK 4



You must salute an officer.

BOOK 4



lieutenant general



8. rear admiral
 (upper-half)

45



Appendix Six: Women in the military/Body taboos.

It cannot be overemphasized how strong the taboo is against discussing sex in any way in the public forum. This illustration combines the unpopular idea of women in the military with a focus on the "short" pants and skirts worn by "Sally". This innocuous example was enough to excite inappropriate comment from the students, disrupting the learning environment.

Figure 3

Read silently.
Answer the questions.



LARGE LARRY AND SMALL SALLY

Large Larry and <u>Small</u> Sally are in the military. Larry's very big and tall. He likes to eat. He eats very <u>large</u> meals. He wears <u>large</u> clothes, too. Larry likes sports. He plays soccer and basketball. He wears <u>short</u> pants to play these games. He goes to class and to work in <u>long</u> trousers.

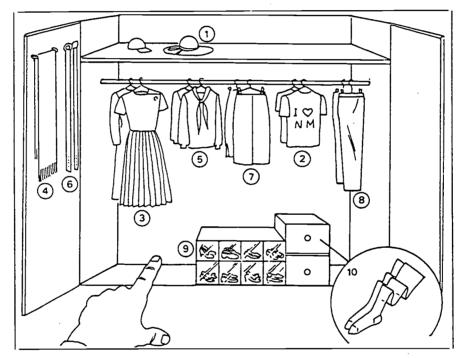
Sally's very <u>small</u>. She wears <u>small</u> clothes. She doesn't like to eat <u>large</u> meals. Sally plays tennis. She plays tennis in <u>short</u> pants. She wears <u>short</u> skirts and dresses to school and work. Sally likes to wear long dresses. She wears a <u>long</u> dress to the Officers' Dinner every month.



9

Appendix Seven: Focus on the female.

This illustration is likely intended to depict the typical female closet as being similar to the typical male closet. In the RSNF classroom the focus of attention immediately became the undergarments.



THOSE ARE PEGGY'S CLOTHES.

Repeat and then read the new words and sentences.

- 1. hat, hats
 Those are Peggy's hats.
- 3. <u>dress, dresses</u> Those are her dresses.
- 5. blouse, blouses
 Those are her blouses.
- 7. skirt, skirts
 Those are her skirts.
- 9. <u>shoe, shoes</u> Those are her shoes.

- 2. T-shirt, T-shirts
 Those are her T-shirts.
- 4. scarf, scarfs, scarves
 Those are her scarfs.
- 6. belt, belts
 Those are her belts.
- 8. pants
 Those are her pants.
- 10. stockings
 Her stockings are in there.

59



Appendix Eight: Focus on the female body.

This modified cloze exercise would also be innocuous in the American classroom setting. In the Saudi setting the discussion quickly got out of hand.



34

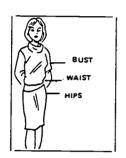
She put on her clothes and had breakfast. She was ready for

her first day at work.

Appendix Nine: Focus on the female body.

Discussion of women's bust, waist and hip sizes was completely inappropriate in the RSNF classroom.

MISSES SIZES



MISSES SHOES	
U.S.A.	METRIC
6	
7	38
8	39
9	40
10	41

FOR MISSES	PANTS, JEANS, SHIR	RTS
WHEN YOUR HIPS ARE	ASK FOR	OR
36" to 36 1/2"	8	small
37" to 37 1/2"	10	small
38" to 39"	12	medium
39 1/2" to 40 1/2"	14	medium
41" to 42"	16	large
42 " to 44"	18	large

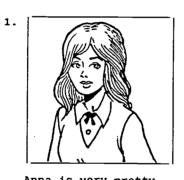
U.S.A. MEASUREMENTS	FOR MISSES	BLOUSES,	DRESSES, COATS, ETC.
WHEN YOUR BUST IS	ASK	FOR SIZE	OR
33 1/2" to 34"		8	small
34 1/2" to 35"		10	small
35 1/2" to 36 1/2"		12	medium
37" to 38"		14	medium
38 1/2" to 39 1/2"		16	large
40" to 41 1/2"		18	large

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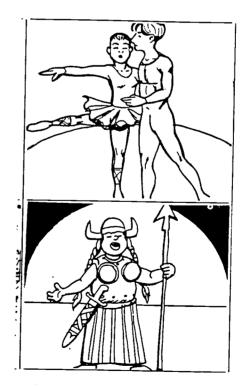
Appendix Ten: Focus on the female body.

The illustration from Book 8 draws attention directly to physical appearance. Those from Book 16 depicts events alien to the Saudi lifestyle; ballet, opera and other stage performances simply do not exist. Once again, students' attention was drawn to the exaggerated physical dimensions.



Anna is very pretty. Anna is <u>beautiful</u>.

воок в

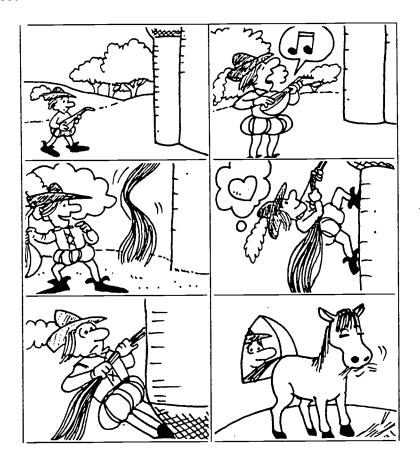




Appendix Eleven: Alien cultural icons.

This last illustration caused no little confusion and comment in the classroom. The students had no expectations regarding why the man was climbing the tower. The legend of Rapunzel is unknown in Saudi Arabia, but the use of a heart to represent love is known. When the man finds a horse in the tower, the students' reactions were not what one would expect from students who could build on shared traditional stories. Where the disparity between cultures is great, we must be careful that we do not make assumptions based on knowledge that does not exist.

Look at the pictures. Write a short story about what you see.







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